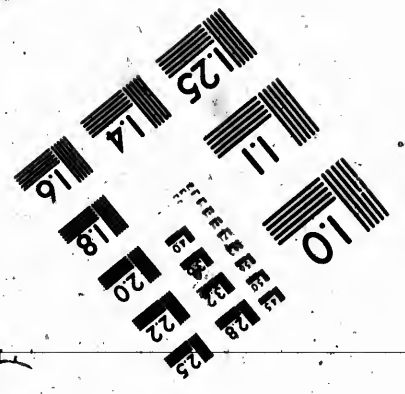
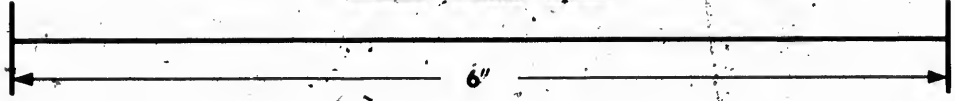
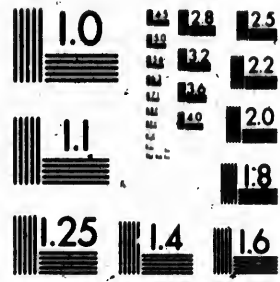


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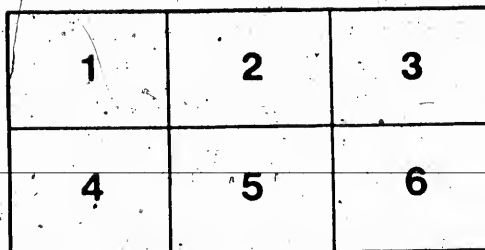
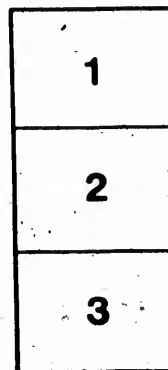
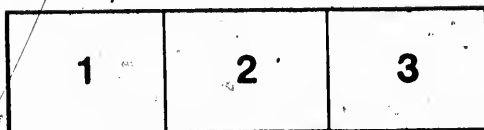
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# THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.

## MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD AND THE OPPOSITION.

(From the Toronto "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26, 1879.)

SANDFIELD MACDONALD opposed the Confederation scheme on the ground that it would result in too much government. However, when the British North America Act became law, and the union of the Provinces was consummated, he loyally accepted the situation, and served the country with rare devotion to the day of his death. Last summer, in a speech at Lindsay, Mr. GEORGE BROWN, who had known SANDFIELD daily from 1857 to 1871, recalled, and paid the dead statesman a worthy tribute. "SANDFIELD MACDONALD," said Mr. BROWN, "was a man who would neither do wrong himself, nor allow those around him to do wrong." As First Premier of Ontario, SANDFIELD laid it down as his chief principle, that economy in Local affairs was necessary to the existence of the Federal system. Holding this view, he granted the public purse liberally; indeed it has been said, (and with some degree of truth), that his parsimony brought about his defeat. Had he spent the public money with a lavish hand, as his successors have done, he would have secured the attention instead of arousing the hostility of the powerful rings and combinations that always bear a full treasury. In 1868, while visiting St. Andrew's, in the County of Glasgow, where he was buried three years afterwards, he was accused of "misgovernment" by a prominent local politician, and his reply is worth repeating: "I admit I am miserably poor. I deal with the public money as though I were dealing with my own personal funds. I am quite convinced that this ground during the Confederation scheme—that of economy or extravagant expenditure would in the long run lead the public to the favour to be a member of the Ontario Government, I shall continue to be 'miserably' for economy; the strictest and most careful economy is the chief anchor of the Federal constitution."

## MR. SANDFIELD MACDONALD NOT A CONSERVATIVE.

Nothing can be more preposterous, not to say impudent, than the claim of the present Ontario Opposition to inherit the virtues, or wear the mantle of the late J. Sandfield Macdonald.

Messrs Meredith, Morris & Co. are Tories, Conservatives, or Liberal Conservatives, in whom the very name of "Reformer" is hateful.

Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald was a life-long Reformer.

These men are the devoted and blind followers of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Tory Leader at Ottawa.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was, until nearly the close of his life, bitterly opposed to, and the object of the bitter hostility of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Neither Messrs Meredith nor Morris was a member of the Local Legislature in the time of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. When Mr. J. S. Macdonald was Premier of Ontario, Mr. Morris was a member of Sir John A. Macdonald's Administration.

The one member of the Local Legislature at the present time who can fairly claim a real connection with Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, is Attorney-General Mowat, his old colleague in 1862-3, and who now leads—not a Tory Opposition, but—a Reform Government.

When, on the 20th December, 1871, Mr. J. S. Macdonald moved a vote of censure on the yet inchoate Administration of Mr. Blake, his old followers, all save eleven, broke him and voted against him. Thus repudiated, he would have no more to do with them; refused to attend a caucus to choose a leader, went home to Cornwall in disgust, and left them to elect—not a Reformer, but—a life-long Tory, Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron.

It was as a Reformer Mr. Macdonald used the part of an economist, and passed some liberal measures.

It was Tory convulsions that led him to usurp the authority belonging to Parliament, alienated him from old friends, and led to his downfall.

Only one of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's local Opponents is in public life to-day. That one is his late Tory colleague, Mr. John Carling, now, as then, a Tory supporter of a Tory chief.

Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, as a member of the House of Commons, frequently refused to support Sir John A. Macdonald's Government, then in power. Mr. E. B. Wood frequently spoke and voted (as on the British Columbia resolutions) against Sir John. The only member of the Sandfield Macdonald Government that steadily supported Sir John at Ottawa was Mr. John Carling, by whose favour Mr. Meredith now represents London in the Local Legislature.

## THE OPPOSITION AS ECONOMISTS.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.)

"When this faithful public servant was defeated in the Legislature, a new order of things was established, and his successors, adhering to his policy of parsimony, launched out into excessive expenditure. The result bears witness to the necessity of Sandfield's foresight. The public burdens have become almost intolerable, and men do not hesitate to say that we have far too much government. It is certain, besides, that a radical change is made, that the revolution is forever well sprung up, and that before many years, the agitation against the cost of the Local Government in our country (Ontario), is in general throughout the Dominion. In one or two of the Provinces they have abolished, or are about to abolish, the Legislative Councils; while in others Local Unions are proposed. The prevailing opinion in the Province referred to is that the Federal system must be preserved at any cost, and it is felt that economy is the only means of salvation. This is also the view taken by the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Mowat and his followers met the Ministerial party throughout the Province, with a few notable exceptions, maintain, on the other hand, that the public burdens can be still further increased without obtaining the least benefit, or impeding the existence of our present system. Indeed they hold that a sweeping measure of economy, such as the Opposition favour, would result in the destruction of the system. It is for the people to judge of the respective positions of the two parties, and give a decision in the best interests of the country."

**PROVISIONS NO PROOF.**

A Tory in opposition is always virtuous. A Tory in power is always a tyrant.

"What the Devil was able, the Devil's work would be; but when the Devil got well, the Devil's work was in."

What assurance has the country, that the present Opposition leaders in Ontario are economists?

Do more professions or handsome resolutions prove their true intentions?

What are their associations, and in what school have they graduated?

When did they practice the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation"?

They are the blind worshippers and followers of a leader whose performance as an economist have been as follows:—

**WHAT THEIR GREAT EXAMPLE DID.**

In 1864, John A. Macdonald became one of the principal members of the Canadian Administration, which succeeded that of Sir Francis Hincks.

There was a surplus in the Treasury when Sir Francis Hincks left office of \$1,000,000. \$4,000,000 stood to the credit of the Government for public works completed and the public debts reduced out of surplus revenues.

In 1864, Sir John A. Macdonald became the Upper Canadian leader of the Government.

In 1867, TWO-FIFTHS OF THE WHOLE EXPENDITURE HAD TO BE MET BY BORROWING, to avoid showing a deficit of \$3,400,000.

The treasury was empty; the \$3,000,000 to credit was gone. The Government banking account was overdrawn to the amount of \$2,400,000.

The interest of the public debt had increased from \$1,500,000 to \$3,400,000, the whole of which, except about half a million, was chargeable against a net-revenue of about 4½ millions of dollars.

In 1864, the entire expenditure, including interest and public works, was but \$4,100,000.

In 1867, it had been increased to \$7,400,000, in face of increasing annual deficits, by the guide, model, philosopher, and friend of the man who are now, the *Mail* says, preaching that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

These facts were all brought out by investigations before the Public Accounts Committee, &c., &c., at the time, and are now matters of history.

In 1866, the Revenue was .....	5,370,627
And the Expenditure .....	8,643,344
Deficit.....	3,272,717

In 1868, the Revenue was .....	6,597,017
And the Expenditure .....	8,081,701
Deficit.....	1,484,684

In 1869, the Revenue was .....	7,430,869
And the Expenditure .....	9,440,576
Deficit.....	1,979,707

In 1871, the Revenue was .....	7,842,926
And the Expenditure .....	9,542,964
Deficit.....	1,699,938

In 1872, the Revenue was .....	7,377,168
And the Expenditure .....	9,441,408
Deficit.....	2,064,240

Increase of Expenditure, in five years, in face of annual deficits, by the great chiefship of the party that declares "Economy is the only means of salvation." .....

700,661

Deficits in five years .....

10,907,300

The statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1866 to 1869 are from a table prepared by Mr. Langton, the late auditor.

**HIS NEXT GRAND ECONOMICAL ACHIEVEMENT.**

From 1869 to 1864, Mr. Bonfield Macdonald's Government intervened. From 1866 to 1867, John A. Macdonald again had a controlling influence in the Cabinet. And this is how he once more illustrated the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation" :—

In 1866 the expenditure was .....	\$9,953,957
In 1868 it was .....	10,934,813
In 1867 it was .....	11,381,060

Increase in three years by the head of the school which teaches that "Economy is the only means of salvation" .....

1,427,003

**THE GRANDEST OF ALL.**

In 1867 Sir John A. Macdonald became Premier of the Dominion. He held office until November, 1873, and was therefore responsible for the finances for 1867-68, '70, '71, '72, '73, '74. And this is the way he once more illustrated the doctrine "that economy is the only means of salvation" :—

In 1867-8 the expenditure was .....	\$13,486,093
In 1868-9 it was .....	14,088,084
In 1869-70 it was .....	16,345,508
In 1870-71 it was .....	18,928,061
In 1871-72 it was .....	17,589,468
In 1872-73 it was .....	19,174,647
In 1873-74 it was .....	23,816,316

Increase in expenditure in seven years effected by Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s "wicked statement and economist, on the principle that "Economy is the only means of salvation." .....

9,830,234

For expenditure from 1866 to 1874 see "Public Accounts" (Canada.)

And although the Revenue up to 1873-4 kept pace with the Expenditure, yet, in 1873-4, by adding four millions of dollars in one session to the permanent expenditure of the country, Sir John A. Macdonald exceeded his Finance Minister's own estimate of the Revenue for the year by no less than \$1,200,000.

So that an increased expenditure of \$9,830,234 in six years was Messrs. Meredith, Morris and Co.'s great exemplar's tribute to the doctrine that "Economy is the only means of salvation."

And their being the very humble followers of, and believers in, "Sir John," is absolutely the only claim and title these gentlemen have to be even suspected of being economists.

**CANADA OVER GOVERNED.**

**TOO MANY EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS.**

From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The Dominion, with a population of 4,000,000 people, is governed by Governor-General, seven Lieut. Governors of provinces, and the Lieut. Governor of the North-West Territories—nine governments in all. We have sixty-five Executive Councillors, &c.

Quebec	13,400
New Brunswick	2,700
Prince Edward Island	2,700
Manitoba	1,000
British Columbia	1,000
North-West Territories	1,000
Ontario	18,400

Neither the *Mail* nor any of its party has ever proposed to abolish the office of Lieut. Governor of Ontario. If there are too many such officers, it is to the smaller Provinces its opinions should be addressed.

But how stands the account as regards Ontario and the alleged disproportionate number of Executive Councillors?

At Ottawa just now in order to keep up the thirteen ministers, the *Mail's* friends in power are dividing the Public Works Department and so will create an office for the Minister who, by the union of the Receiver General's Department with the Finance Department might, perhaps, be dispensed with.

Why does not the *Mail* protest against two Ministers at Ottawa being employed to do what hitherto has been accomplished by one?

The *Mail* takes 1877, as its year of reference. — Well, in 1877, Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Executive Councillor for every 170,316 of population.

Nova Scotia had one Executive Councillor for every	44,000
New Brunswick had one Executive Councillor for every	38,000
Prince Edward Island had one Executive Councillor for every	16,000
Manitoba had one Executive Councillor for every	8 to 6,000
British Columbia had one Executive Councillor for every	4,000
While Ontario with vastly greater interests had only one Executive Councillor for every	270,000

**HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOW AT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

**TOO MANY LEGISLATORS.**

From the "*Mail*" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

We have 600 representatives, the Executive Council included, viz:

House of Commons	200
Senate	27
Ontario Assembly	24
Quebec Assembly	24
Quebec Legislative Council	24
Nova Scotia Assembly	19
Nova Scotia Legislative Council	19
New Brunswick Assembly	14
New Brunswick Legislative Council	14
P. E. Island Legislative Council	7
Manitoba Assembly	25
British Columbia Assembly	24

This is one representative for every 6,000 souls, or one for every 600 votes, reckoning every tenth man a voter.

If the Opposition wanted to cut down the number of members, why did not they make a motion to that effect? When they did not, what right has the *Mail* to raise that issue at all?

However, let us see how in this matter Ontario stands as compared with other Provinces!

In 1877, (the year the *Mail* editors Quebec (under Conservative rule) had one Legislature for every 13,400 of population.

Nova Scotia had one for every	44,000
New Brunswick had one for every	38,000
Prince Edward Island had one for every	2,700
Manitoba had about one for every	1,000
British Columbia had about one for every	1,000
While Ontario with her great interests had only one for every 18,400 of population.	

**HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOW AT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

**COST OF LEGISLATION.**

From the "*Mail*" Opposition Campaign Sheet, March 26th, 1879.

The cost of Legislation, i.e. indemnities to members, salaries of the Speakers, clerks, &c., is as follows:

Quebec	100,000
Nova Scotia	20,000
New Brunswick	20,000
Other Provinces	20,000
Ontario	200,000

Here is another row of figures that will settle where "the shoe pinches" in this respect: —

In 1877, Dominion Legislature cost the people of Canada	17 cents per head.
In 1877, Quebec Legislature cost the people of Quebec	14 cents per head.
In 1877, the average cost of Legislation in the other Provinces was	10 cents per head.
In 1877, the cost of Legislation to the people of Ontario was only	7 cents per head.
and is now, by the reduction of the indemnity,	less than seven cents per head.

**HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOW AT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

**COST OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.**

The *Mail* complains of the cost of the Administration of Justice in 1877, and gives the following as the figures: —

For Ontario	620,000
For Quebec	400,000

In this connection, comparisons with small Provinces would be of little value.

The *Mail* is good enough, however, to invite the statement by its comparison, that the Administration of Justice in Quebec, in 1877 (under Tory rule) cost the people

84 cents per head.	
<b>WHILE IN ONTARIO IT ONLY COST THE PEOPLE</b>	<b>17 CENTS PER HEAD.</b>

**HOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOW AT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

**THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.**

**COST OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.**

The *Mail* says that, in 1877, the charge for Civil Government was, for Ontario \$165,000, and for Quebec, \$125,000.

In this item, no fair comparison can be established between large and small Provinces, but it may be noted that the average cost of Civil Government to the five smaller Provinces of the Dominion, was just above one cent per head of the population.

In Quebec (under Tory rule), the cost to the people of Civil Government, was, 15 cents per head.

**AND IN ONTARIO IT WAS WITH A FAR GREATER AMOUNT OF BUSINESS, ONLY 10 CENTS PER HEAD.**

**NOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOWAT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

**EDUCATION.**

But the *Mail* has one groov yet left in its quiver. It is happy in the discovery that the Province of Quebec actually spends less for EDUCATION than the Province of Ontario!

Ontario spent in 1877 on the education of its people and the relief of bond burdens in this connection, 34 cents per head.

And Quebec under the rule of a Tory government spent only 20 cents per head.

The Opposition are welcome to all the good they can get out of this line of advocacy; their organ has evidently in all its previous illustrations, "got the wrong saw by the ear," and PROVES THAT ONTARIO UNDER A REFORM GOVERNMENT IS THE CHEAPEST AND MOST ECONOMICALLY GOVERNED PORTION OF THE WHOLE DOMINION, BOTH AS TO MEN AND MONEY.

As to Education, it is a very good old Tory idea to object to that vote, but Liberal-Conservatives will hardly think their champion for putting them in the category of opponents to a liberal expenditure for Education.

**ONTARIO AND THE STATES.**

The *Mail* tries to make it appear as though Ontario were less economically governed than the United States.

There are only FIVE American State Legislatures in which the proportion of legislators to the population is slightly less than in Ontario.

The cost of legislation in:—

Connecticut, is	31 cents per head.
Pennsylvania	17 " "
Massachusetts	16 " "
New York	12 " "
Illinois	9 " "
Michigan	8 " "
Wisconsin	8 " "
Maine, was	8 " "

And in Ontario is now under 7 cents per head.

**NOW IS THAT FOR ONTARIO UNDER THE NOWAT ADMINISTRATION !!!**

The information as to the cost of State Legislation is obtained from the respective State Departments.

**BIENNIAL SESSIONS.**

The *Mail* hints on Biennial sessions being adopted as in some of the American States. It will be time enough to discuss this

question when any responsible representative of the party the *Mail* supports comes out as an advocate for Biennial Sessions, and the other (radical) constitutional changes this suggestion implies.

**THE MINISTERS' SALARIES.**

(From the "*Mail's*" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1878.)

In 1871 the salaries of Ministers were as follows:

Premier	\$4,000
Treasurer	3,000
Queen's Land Commissioner	3,000
Public Works Commissioner	3,000
Provincial Secretary	3,000
Minister of Education	3,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$22,000</b>

The salary of Dr. Ryerson, Commissioner of Education, is included in the above for purposes of comparison, because that Department is now in charge of a dual Minister. The *Mail* used to complain that these salaries were excessive, yet Mr. Mowat did not hesitate to increase them at a time when the revenues could ill afford it, and when economy would have been the first object of a true Reformist. The increase was as follows:

Premier	\$5,000
Treasurer	4,000
Queen's Land Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$29,000</b>

Or an increase of \$7,000 a year. Last winter the Premier, anxious to make a show of economy on his death-bed, reduced the salaries to the following amounts:

Premier	\$5,000
Treasurer	4,000
Queen's Land Commissioner	4,000
Public Works Commissioner	4,000
Provincial Secretary	4,000
Minister of Education	4,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$29,000</b>

So that the total is still \$4,000 more than the total of the Cabinet salaries under Sandfield. The Opposition made determined efforts from time to time to reduce these and other salaries. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1875, p. 273-285), they moved a series of resolutions to that effect. Mr. Meredith moved as follows:—  
"That in the opinion of this House, the salaries of Ministers should be \$2,000, with \$1,000 additional for the Premier."

**THE OPPOSITION APPROVED THE INCREASE.**

The Salaries of the Ministers were increased, in the Session of 1875-6, with the express approval of every Opposition member in the House, including Mr. Meredith, the mover of the resolution of last Session.

**WHAT THE GREAT ECONOMIST AT OTTAWA THOUGHT ABOUT SALARIES.**

The Salary of the Premier of Ontario to-day is only equal to the amount which Mr. John A. Macdonald in 1873 declared wholly insufficient for a Cabinet Minister at Ottawa to live upon. In that year Mr. John A. Macdonald secured an increase of the whole Minister's salaries at Ottawa from \$5,000 to \$7,000, with another \$1,000 for himself as Premier. (See Statutes Canada, 1873.)

His official income to-day is, including his indemnity as a member of Parliament, \$9,000, or \$4,000 a year more than that of the Premier of Ontario, and his colleagues all exceed it, although



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THE OPPOSITION OPPOSED

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THE INCREASE JUSTIFIED BY ITS MERITS

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all the salaries for 1978, except only \$1,000, and in addition \$4,000 for the year 1979.

AN UNTRUE SUGGESTION.

The Hon. Mr. Richardson said that Mr. Scott's salary was increased in 1978, and that the Opposition was responsible for this.

THE SPEAKER'S SALARY.

In 1978, the salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons was raised from \$2,500 to \$4,000 a year.

At the same time the salary of the Speaker of the Senate was also raised from \$2,500 to \$4,000.

Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

The salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons was raised in 1978, and the Opposition was responsible for this.

The salary of the Speaker of the Senate was raised in 1978, and the Opposition was responsible for this.

Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SALARY.

The Deputy Attorney General's salary was raised in 1978, and the Opposition was responsible for this.

Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

FAIR AND REASONABLE ANSWERS.

The Hon. Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

The Hon. Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

HOW OPPOSITION MEMBERS VOTED AND VOTED IN 1978.

It also omits to mention that on Mr. Scott's salary being raised in 1978, from \$2,000 to \$3,500, the increase was warmly supported by the Hon. M. C. Cameron and the Hon. Stephen Richards.

Mr. Cameron said: "Under the circumstances he was prepared to vote for Mr. Scott's salary."

Mr. Richards said: "To fulfil the position of Mr. Scott was not a job for an inexperienced lawyer. The Premier was a capable politician and he (Mr. Richards) could justify himself if he should have discussed with the Government the salary of \$2,500 was not excessive considering his talent, experience, and industry of Mr. Scott."

On a hostile amendment being moved, the following members of the Opposition voted in favour of the increase: Messrs. M. C. Cameron, Coyne, Hamilton, Meredith (now leader of the Opposition), Richards, Scott (Opp.) and Williams (now Conservative member for West Durham).

The motion was only properly filed by a lawyer of experience and ability.

The present Deputy Attorney-General is acknowledged to be an eminent lawyer, a laborious public servant and one who could earn by his profession, if in private practice, far more than his present salary.

Experience is a lawyer is everything; yet the proposal of the Opposition was to pay the Deputy Attorney-General \$300 less than the highest men in their field had to be more than adequate, six years ago.

In Ottawa, the Deputy Attorney-General receives \$1,000, in addition to the Clerk of the Council receives \$2,200. In Quebec, the Solicitor-General (on office retainer) is that of Deputy Attorney-General) receives \$2,400, with far less work, and is able to devote himself to private practice.

The members of the Attorney-General's Department, of which the Deputy is the chief executive officer, has conventionally received since 1974 a salary of \$1,000.

The motion to cut down the salary by \$300 was therefore not only unjust but evidently a sign of short-sightedness, and as a result of the vote of many who supported it, it was defeated.

ENSURING ITS FRIENDS AND ITSELF.

The Hon. Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

Mr. Scott said that the Opposition was responsible for this increase.

It was reported as only a mere proposition to a gentleman...

No one has objected, no one has all round, objected to the...

It is only on a point of petty moral character that the...

No one ever heard of the Staff Building built with the...

INSPECTOR'S SALARY.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21st, 1878.)

"In 1871 the Inspector of Public Institutions was paid \$2,000 a year...

And the Inspector does three or four times the work for the...

There is no department of the public service that spends less...

From a return made to the House last session the following...

In six years, 1871-1877, the number of Public Institutions...

The number of prisoners committed to gaol, thus adding...

The Central Prison has become a new and very important...

The average number of insane persons in the public asylums...

The patients and inmates of hospitals, &c., inspected...

The correspondence of the office increased..... 373 per cent...

But no one who really takes the trouble to ascertain what the...

The following gives a more outline:—He is responsible for the...

No one doing the present Inspector in a most competent and...

an incompetent or dishonest one, in order to get the work done a...

A VERY MEAN ATTACK.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1878.)

"In 1871 the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands was paid...

"This is the fact. The increase of 5000 was made, in this case...

"Now that Mr. Cameron is no longer in public life, and cannot...

Crown Lands Expenditure.

The "Mail" attacks the increased expenditure of this Department...

A very large proportion of the Crown Lands Territory yields...

The Free Grant system is greatly in the public interest, but it...

In the Woods and Forests Branch, although, under the influence...

The Expenditure in Colonization roads, increased from \$5,400...

A bold charge of spending too much money against such a...

Immigration.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 21, 1878.)

The amounts spent on Immigration since 1870 are as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Amount. Rows for 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878.

THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.

The per capita cost of each immigrant has therefore been as follows:

1875	98.98
1876	9.98
1877	9.98
1878	9.98

This shows a considerable reduction; but it is difficult to make a comparison in this respect, for no returns are kept of the number of immigrants who leave the country after a brief residence. Since 1874, the labour market has been in a depressed condition. Hundreds of Canadians have been unable to find employment, and the expositors of nearly a quarter of a million of foreign immigrants to both an overcrowded market, in a fair subject for discussion. The Opposition have taken the ground that it was not advisable under such circumstances to admit many immigrants to Canada; while the Ministerialists, in whom the employment of European agents and of agents at the principal points in the Province given a large amount of patronage, take the opposite view.

A TRUE ADMISION.

The Mail has admitted that the cost of immigration has been largely reduced since 1874, and

- (1.) That the expense on immigration has been largely reduced since 1874, and
- (2.) That the cost of each immigrant to the Province, notwithstanding that, with a reduced number, the average cost per capita would be likely to increase, is only \$7.04 per head.

The figures speak for themselves. "Since the labour market has been in a depressed condition" the only admission toward immigration received by the Government has been limited to four labourers only; and the demand for labour is still greater than ever was. It is free railway rates to their destination in Ontario, and much more so.

But the Mail suggests that nobody knows how many leave Canada for the States instead of settling here.

Its friend, Senator Macpherson, says, that the immigration is made up by those from the States coming here, and that

Which of the two authorities is speaking the truth?

Is there any more reason to suppose that our immigrants here were seeking an already over-stocked market, than that they went there when everything was busy and waiting on the other side?

The immigration to the States from Europe fell from some 450,000 in 1874 to 100,000 in 1877.

It is notorious that numbers of persons have returned to Europe in consequence of the scarcity of labour in the States.

Does this look like an exodus of Canadian immigrants to the States?

What the public will wish to ascertain is, that the cost of an immigrant, whose value to the country is estimated by Dr. Edward Young, late of the Statistical Bureau at Washington, and now the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Ottawa—at \$600—is only \$8.44, thanks to the present and economical management of the Marine Administration.

Mr. Donkin, Dominion Immigration Agent at Toronto, who owed his original appointment to the police service as far back as 1861, to the Conservative party, has, in his reports for the last three years, borne the highest testimony to the superior class of immigrants passing through his agency, to the well-to-do condition of many, and to the demand for the movement of all who wanted work being in advance of the supply.

With the influx of settlement in the Free Grant Districts, and the migration of many farmers and farmers to Manitoba, location on the part of the Government would be organized and suicidal.

The Mail admits the fact, although it is stated in the report of the Department, that in addition to the immigrants reported by the statistics, in the numbers above given, by making due allowance, the following were transported arriving by the Ontario route, this route: 1874, 7,001; 1875, 6,500; 1876, 4,500; making a total of 18,000 in 1874, 17,000 in 1875, and 17,000 in 1876. Only those through the agency, however, are included in the estimate of average cost.

In answer to the charge suggested as to the amount of patronage involved in the appointment of agents, it is only necessary to say, that there is only one Ontario agent in Toronto, and that the agents in Ontario are limited to five, one travelling agent, who visits the Department at Quebec, and four in the Free Grant District, at the important centres of \$100 a piece. See Public Accounts; Immigration Report, &c., &c.

The Financial Position.

(From the "Mail" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1879.)

The following table of the receipts and expenditures from 1868 to 1878, shows an enormous increase in the expenditures, and an increase of all proportion to the increase in revenue.

Year	Receipts	Expenditures
1868	\$1,700,000	\$1,100,000
1869	2,000,000	1,400,000
1870	2,500,000	1,800,000
1871	3,000,000	2,200,000
1872	3,500,000	2,600,000
1873	4,000,000	3,000,000
1874	4,500,000	3,400,000
1875	5,000,000	3,800,000
1876	5,500,000	4,200,000
1877	6,000,000	4,600,000
1878	6,500,000	5,000,000

It will be seen that since 1874, the expenditures have largely exceeded the revenue, the excess being as follows:

1874	\$1,100,000
1875	440,000
1876	400,000
1877	400,000
1878	400,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,740,000</b>

OTHER MISREPRESENTATION.

The Mail claims the same line as Senator Macpherson and other Opposition writers, who seek to make out that the government has exceeded the revenue by charging the surplus distribution to the surplus payments, against the revenue.

"It will be seen," it says, "that since 1874, the expenditures have largely exceeded the revenue," and then gives the figures.

Now, in 1874, the surplus payments were made under the Mail and the Free Grant Districts; and it is known every one, that the Mail and the Free Grant Districts are not to be a full and proper mode of dealing with the surplus funds, but that the surplus should be paid to the Treasury.

In 1874 the amount paid under the Mail of the Free Grant Districts was \$1,000,000.

In that year the Mail distributed about there was a total of \$450,000.

THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SHEET ANSWERED.

It pretends to show this by including in the average paid during the year, the sum of \$1,261,101 which was simply the people's accumulated savings handed back to the people.

If a man who, by saving a couple of hundred dollars a year out of his income, had managed to pay by a thousand dollars in a bank, drew it out and built a house with it, any person who ignorantly charged he was in arrears, that year spending more than his income by \$1,000 would be laughed at. If he did it to injure the credit of the commercial man who so invested his money, he would be called a scoundrel.

In 1878, the sum of \$668,943 was handed over to the municipal politics under the same Act. In that year the *Mail* fairly pretends there was a deficit of \$646,000.

So that in these two years, but for the deception thus attempted, the *Mail* would have to admit that there was, in 1874—not a deficit but—a surplus of \$668,101, and in 1878 a surplus of \$641,943, after providing for everything save Municipal Loan Fund Distribution alone.

The True State of Affairs.

THE REVENUE

The actual receipts of the Province from 1874 to 1878, inclusive, have been as follows:—

1874	\$3,444,347
1875	3,164,600
1876	2,989,323
1877	3,237,699
1878	2,306,930
	\$14,728,799

But from this must be deducted \$748,857, the amount of money temporarily borrowed on the advice of Sir John Ross against a pending sale of securities. The operation was a profitable one to the Province, but the item is only in Revenue as a matter of account. That leaves—

**\$13,979,941 as the actual Revenue for the six Years.**

These figures are given in a comparative statement of receipts and expenditure presented to the Legislature last Session, verified by the signature of the Auditor.

THE EXPENDITURE

The following sums were voted by the Legislature to meet current expenditure, and are all to be found in the Supply Bill of the respective years:—

1874	\$3,342,339
1875	2,062,550
1876	2,155,186
1877	2,243,004
1878	2,466,554

**Total expenditure under the Supply Bill \$11,333,414**

The amount that stands as follows:—

Revenue for the six years \$13,979,941  
Expenditure 11,333,414

**Surplus \$2,646,527**

But the *Mail* adds to the expenses in order to establish a deficit of \$2,734,000, the following payments:—

Aid to Railways under special Acts of the Legislature	\$1,475,000
Municipal Loan Fund Distribution	2,229,978
Purchase of Redwood Asylum	50,000
Outgoing Coal alterations paid to Municipality	97,500
Balance of Provincial Balance (special account)	25,507
Outgoing Mail improvements (a continuation)	34,000
Balance of Revenue Loans under special Acts of Legislature	5,443

**Total Expenditure as against our plan for special objects, and finally charged by the *Mail*, against annual Expenditure \$4,092,970**

Words Still.

The organ of the Opposition, in its party campaign sheet, does not stop there. It goes on charging against current expenditure, in order to deceive the public, the investments in 5 per cent. Municipal Drainage Debentures; as good a security as any in the Province, and ranking of a first-class asset in the Treasurer's financial statement.

The sums invested in Drainage Debentures, and in Drainage Works, payable by a rent-charge on the lands drained, accounted in the five years to be less than—

**\$417,589,**

which must be added to the

**\$4,932,873,**

making altogether

**\$5,350,462**

disbonestly charged by the *Mail* to annual expenditure, in order to manufacture a bogus deficit.

A Comparison between 1871 and 1878.

(From the "*Mail*" Opposition Campaign Sheet, April 1, 1879.)

The sums spent on what is known as capital account, (i.e. on public works, special fund outlay, etc., and on purely unaccountable expenditure, have been as follows:—

Year	Capital Account	Unaccountable Expenditure
1868	\$ 125,000	\$ 625,000
1869	500,000	1,010,000
1870	420,100	1,220,000
1871	500,000	1,220,000
1872	720,100	1,400,000



	Capital Account	Controllable Expenditures
1873	1,175,400	1,702,400
1874	2,024,000	1,700,000
1875	1,777,100	1,277,400
1876	1,245,400	1,200,000
1877	1,116,400	2,000,000
1878	644,000	2,022,400

This table makes it plain that capital account expenditures aside, the controllable expenditures has risen under Hord's rule from \$1,200,000 to \$2,022,400—an increase of \$822,400, or nearly 70 per cent.

The *Mail* attempts, by mis-using the phrase "controllable expenditure" to create a false impression.

The whole of the expenditure under the Supply Bill is, in one sense, "controllable," but that term has usually been applied to the following items:—Education, Immigration, Agriculture, &c.; Hospitals and Charities, Public Buildings, Public Works, and Colonization Roads.

Under the head of "Ordinary Expenditure" are classed the following:—Of Government, Legislation, Administration of Justice, Maintenance of Public Institutions, Miscellaneous, Crown Lands Expenditure, Refunds, &c.

**1871 compared with 1878.**

In 1871 (Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year of office), what is called "Ordinary Expenditure" amounted to

Ordinary Expenditure	\$833,176
And what is called, "Controllable Expenditure," &c.	988,630
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,821,806</b>

as against \$1,199,030, the amount, under these two heads, spent by the same Government in 1878.

**Or an increase in four years of more than fifty per cent.**

In 1878, the "Ordinary Expenditure," so called, was \$1,268,877. And the "Controllable," so called, was

Ordinary Expenditure	\$1,268,877
Controllable Expenditure	1,139,954
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,408,831</b>

The aggregate increase over 1871 was, therefore, \$581,627.

**Or thirty-two per cent in seven years against fifty per cent. in four years.**

But, under the head of "Ordinary" expenditure is included the charge for maintenance of public institutions; just as direct a relief to local and municipal burdens as Education, and some other items, charged under the head of "controllable." This item increased from \$273,622 in 1871 to \$679,000 in 1878, amounting for \$405,378 of the apparent increase.

Education, too, under the head of "Controllable," rose from \$351,296 in 1871 to \$858,086 in 1878, amounting for another \$506,790 of the alleged increase.

**A Favourable Comparison.**

While the increase in the charges for all purposes was much less proportionately from 1873 to 1878, than from 1868 to 1871,

the expenditure for objects directly beneficial to the public, and exclusive of surplus distribution, was much greater. Take the following items:—

**1868 to 1871.**

Education	\$1,276,207	or	\$319,152 per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	681,261	"	197,828
Colonization Roads	177,000	"	44,475
Agriculture and Arts	204,728	"	51,182
Hospitals and Charities	161,770	"	41,043
<b>Total in four years</b>	<b>\$2,500,966</b>	or	<b>\$625,241 per annum.</b>

**1872 to 1878.**

Education	\$1,504,956	or	\$300,991 per annum.
Maintenance of Public Institutions	2,375,264	"	396,230
Colonization Roads	684,267	"	94,961
Agriculture and Arts	626,924	"	90,989
Hospitals and Charities	200,000	"	25,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$7,584,916</b>	or	<b>\$1,080,702 per annum.</b>

**Comparison.**

1868-71—Aggregate expenditure on above items	\$2,500,966	or	\$625,241 per annum.
1872-78—	7,584,916	"	1,080,702
<b>Increase</b>			<b>\$455,461 per annum.</b>

So that the Blake and Mowat Administration spent **FOUR HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS** annually on these objects alone in excess of the sum devoted to the same objects by the previous Government.

Whatever increase has taken place in Departmental expenditure has been solely owing to the growth of public business. But the absurd ground on which it is now sought to smother a verdict against the Mowat Government is that it has spent the people's money for the direct benefit and relief of the people.

**A Miserable Quibble.**

The *Mail* tries to raise a side issue by quibbling over the question whether, in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time, the Trust Funds held by the Dominion, and some other assets, were or were not regarded as a portion of the surplus.

The point is really of no importance whatever. Treasurer E. B. Wood, in his last Budget speech, Feb. 7, 1871, (see papers of that date), expressly alluded to those funds as part of the surplus in the public treasury, which, he alleged, amounted to \$4,000,000, including \$3,000,000 in cash and investments, and the "Trust Funds." This was before \$1,500,000 had been voted to be "set apart" for aid to railways.

**The Two Surpluses 1871-1878 compared.**

But here is the actual account, as it stood on the 31st Decem-ber, 1871, taken from the public records:—

Investments and Special Deposits ..... \$2,027,979  
 Cash Balance ..... 173,336  
 Special Trust Funds with Dominion ..... 2,734,616  
 Ontario's share in Library at Ottawa in  
 1867 ..... 100,341

Grand total ..... \$4,702,922

Less the following Liabilities:—

Some ships retortained to be  
 due to Quebec under the  
 award ..... \$ 136,586  
 Railway Aid Fund voted  
 and embodied in a Sta-  
 tute in 1871 ..... 1,500,000

Total Liabilities ..... \$ 1,636,586

Net surplus assets ..... \$ 3,066,337

Taking exactly the same items, Mr. Treas-  
 urer Wood in his late Budget Speech  
 shows the Assets on the 31st Dec. 1878,  
 to be ..... \$5,842,743

And the Liabilities ..... \$1,413,736

Leaving, after providing for every  
 obligation a surplus of ..... \$4,429,000

And that, too, after distributing under the Municipal Loan  
 Fund Adjustment Scheme, \$3,325,373; and \$779,626 in aid to  
 Railways over and above the amount appropriated by the Stand-  
 still Amendment Act of 1871.

If then we take the exact surplus at the end of 1871, and the  
 same at the end of 1878, we shall find that over Four Millions  
 of dollars from earned surplus (in addition to the \$1,500,000  
 originally voted for Railways) have been paid to the people by the  
 present Government for these two objects, with the effect of re-  
 ducing the surplus as it stood on the 31st Dec. 1871, only  
 \$452,324.

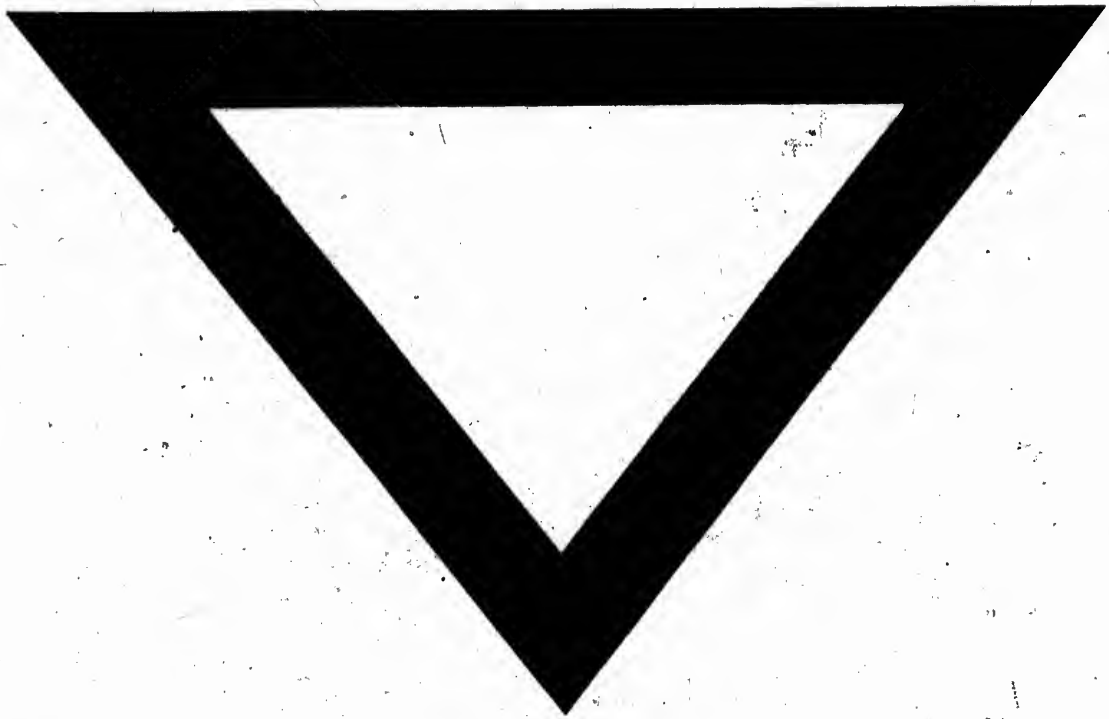
The whole of the foregoing statements are taken from the  
 Public Accounts or other official documents.

As shown by Treasurer S. G. Wood, in his Budget Speech,  
 no less a sum than \$17,560,570 has been distributed since  
 1871, among the people for public objects, independent of the  
 cost of Government and numerous other charges.

See Budget Speech, 1878, page 46.















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